75p

TAMIL VOICE INTERNATIONAL

TVI

Vol. 1 No. 15

15th August, 1988

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THE DAY OF BETRAYAL AND SERVILITY

AUSTRALIA: Tamils of Australia demand annulment of Accord

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Remembered by Tamil Diaspora

LONDON: Britain's Tamils Decry the Accord

"I saw Eelam scattered over the continents, as sheep that have not a shepherd".

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YOUR VOICE

PUBLIC SILENCE CONTAINS SEEDS OF EVIL

By Sisu, North Wembley

Robert Maxwell, writing in the Sunday Mirror of July 17, 1988, says he is **"outraged at the indifference"** shown by the media and the citizens of Britain who failed to take timely action to arrest the holocaust of the murder of 6 million Jews by the Nazis, which he describes as **"the greatest act of evil in the history of mankind."**

The 'greatest evil' has not ended with the killing of the Jews. It happens even now; and the world around has sunk into sweet oblivion, refusing to take note of the genocidal killings of hundreds of Tamil civilians in Sri Lanka, first by the Sri Lankan troops and thereafter now by the mighty Indian forces that came to make *peace.*

I would rather quote some excerpts from Maxwell's article to enable the reader to imagine the parallel events that are taking place even today in Sri Lanka.

... "The murder of the Jews.... was nothing less than a deliberate, systematic campaign to remove a whole people from the face of the earth. The victorious nations swore, when the last war ended, that it must never happen again."

"How was it that a civilised, cultured nation could be turned by one mad man into the nation of Auschwitz, Dachau and Belsen? Unless we know, there will always be a danger that it could happen again. If not to the Jews, to another people. If not in Europe, in Asia or Africa. Pol Pot and Idi Amin were as wicked as Hitler, but not as powerful." **(What about Jayewardene of Sri Lanka?)**

"The Holocaust was not something horrible which happened to other people. Had Britain fallen to the Nazi armies in 1940, it would have happened here."

"It was in order to prevent it ever happening again that a unique conference took place last week in Oxford and in London. Several hundred scholars from 24 countries who have devoted the past 40 years to researching the State murder of the Jews and others presented the fruits of their work. Their purpose was not to dwell on the past. It was to prevent history repeating itself. That's why the conference was called 'Remembering for the Future. The Impact of the Holocaust and Genocide on Jews and Christians'.

Yet, how was this great conference, which culminated in a meeting at Central Hall, Westminster, London, treated by the British Press?

With a few honourable exceptions, they ignored it!

Messages of support, moving and sincere, were sent to the conference by President Reagan, President Mitterand, Mrs. Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl, President Hertzog, and M.Delors, President of the European Commission. *(But, ironically, none of these Heads of Governments seemed to have shown any regard for the inhuman atrocities inflicted upon the innocent civilians in Sri Lanka).*

Robert Maxwell further writes, "If evil comes when good men do nothing, then this silence contains the seeds of evil". When Hitler embarked upon his murderous course, the world's Press - again, with a few honourable exceptions - said nothing.

"The British Press was guilty then. It is still guilty today.".

TAMILS: DO WE WANT BLOOD ON OUR HANDS?

By Paul Cullen, Australia

The Government's intention to resume expulsion and forced return of Sri Lankan Tamils is cause for profound concern.

Most alarming is the intention of the Minister for Immigration, Mr Holding, to deport one individual, now in detention, with atleast six others to follow soon.

Our understanding has been that Mr Holding was not prepared to return Tamils to Sri Lanka until provincial government elections had taken place in the north and east of the country, and until civilian administration and levels of normalcy had been restored to the troubled regions. It appears that he has changed his mind.

A statement from the Bonn office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees stresses that voluntary return efforts, assisted by that agency, would be seriously endangered if there were "any connection with forcible deportations."

Human rights violations, perpetrated by the Sri Lankan authorities, members of the Indian peace-keeping force and separatist Tamil groups, continue to occur.

We note with grave concern the recent murder of the Rev Father Chandra Fernando, a respected member of the Tamil Community in Sri Lanka.

Another leading figure, Mr K. Kanthasamy, the director of the Central British Fund for Tamil Refugees, was abducted recently and is reported to have been murdered.

There are documented accounts of intimidation, beating and extra-judicial detention of Tamils who were forcibly repatriated by British authorities only this year. There is a very great risk that Australia's intention to forcibly repatriate Tamils will lead to similar abuses.

The Australian people, through their Government, should not allow blood on their hands, let alone through the kind of precipitate, inflexible and avoidable action that the British Government, for one, has seen fit to carry out.

This letter was written on behalf of the Refugee Council of Australia, International Commission of Jurists, Australasian Federation of Tamil Associations, Australian Council of Churches, Public Interest Advocacy Centre, Jesuit Refugee Service, Immigration Advice and Rights Centre, Uniting Church of Australia, Sri Lanka Human Rights Campaign, Eelam Tamil Association, Ecumenical Migration Centre, and the Australian Council for Overseas Aid.

(Courtesy - Sydney Morning Herald - July 29, 1988)

LET ANY ACCORD REFLECT THIMPU TALKS

Ana Pararajasingham, Australia

Twelve months have passed since the "Indo-Sri Lanka Accord" was signed between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Sri Lanka, ostensibly to provide Tamils with some autonomy, but in reality an attempt to secure the political future of the signatories.

It has now become abundantly clear that the assault on the LTTE under the guise of "disarming" was a cal-

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TIME FOR INDIA TO TAKE STOCK

The Soviet leader Vyacheslav Molotov once remarked: *"The trouble with free elections is that we cannot predict the results!"* This is not so with President Jayewardene. **In his case he has the results in his pocket before he holds his** *"free and fair elections."* Sixty per cent democracy in some provinces and six or seven per cent voter participation in some of the constituencies in the Southern Province is "proof" enough for Sri Lanka's Western donors that democracy is on the road to recovery. However, **what we are anticipating today is what will probably happen in the merged provinces when provincial elections are held there.** UNP or pro-UNP candidates will conduct and win in Marcosian style. *'INDIA ABROAD'* of July 15, 1988, reports that President Jayewardene stated that a general election should be held in Sri Lanka "before next year, provided a referendum was not held before that to extend the life of Parliament." So, now we know that President Jayewardene might cling on to the five-sixths majority he won at the general election of 1977.

Where do the Eelam Tamils come in ? It relates to the alibi that President Jayewardene has proffered the Indian Government's negotiators that no issues can be taken up till the presidential and parliamentary elections are over. This may or may not suit New Delhi. But it certainly concerns the future of our fellow Tamils in Sri Lanka. **A 're-elected' President and a merry-go-round Parliament, in our view, are not going to oblige Mr.Gandhi in implementing the Accord of July 1987.**

Let us take the issues separately. Even before all the talk of elections, President Jayewardene had announced that he did not plan on conceding India's claims to Trincomalee, the Voice of America and foreign advisors. He said he needed 'a Treaty'. In the last few weeks, K.C.Pant, the Indian Defence Minister, was in Colombo to take with him Sri Lanka's draft of the treaty to New Delhi. The treaty did not provide for the original assurances given to Mr.Gandhi in the letters annexed to the July 1987 Accord. Instead of doing what he promised, President Jayewardene's draft states that his government will review all these matters.

More important for us Tamils are the hollow provisions contained in the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Let us concede that Mr.Gandhi and his negotiators tried to obtain for the Eelam Tamils an India-type State as in the Union of India. We count it as a gain, the success India's negotiators met with in getting President Jayewardene to agree to the merger. But **where India's negotiators went wrong was the belief that the Chief Minister and his Board of Ministers in a Province will function as the executive in regard to powers devolved to them in the Provincial List. This is true of the cabinet-parliamentary type government that prevails in India's democratic system. Sri Lanka however has an Executive presidential form of government. The Governor of a Province in Sri Lanka is the Executive President's agent. A provincial council may pass any number of statutes under the powers given it in the Provincial Council List. But under the Thirteenth Amendment, it is the Governor who executes these statutes. He can delegate some of his powers to the Chief Minister and his Board. But this is not a constitutional requirement. The Governor may, in his discretion, delegate powers to the Chief Minister. That discretion cannot be questioned in a court of law. Consequently, Dr.Lakshman Marasinghe, himself a Sinhalese, and a Professor of Law at the University of Windsor, Ontario, has stated authoritatively in a paper that provincial councils are "glorified municipal councils."**

A war was fought for more than four years by the Tamil Resistance to win self-respect for the Tamils. Mr.Gandhi went to lengths to be fair to both sides in the conflict. In the end, Mr.Gandhi has been deceived both in respect of India's security concerns and in regard to autonomy for the Eelam Tamils. President Jayewardene has deceived Mr.Gandhi in all matters. What is worse, he has made Mr.Gandhi's IPKF turn into the savage instrument that Sri Lanka's Sinhala army was before India's intervention. **It is time for India to take stock.**

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TAMIL VOICE International

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INTERNATIONAL MEDIA ON THE TAMIL NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

By our Political Analyst

National liberation struggles are being fought on several fronts of the world today. Oppressed peoples and nations are waging a determined struggle against imperialism, against neo-colonialism, against totalitarian tyranny, against national chauvinism and many other forms of oppression. Each of these liberation struggles has its own historical specificity, its own concrete conjuncture which determine the structure, the strategy and the ideology of each of these liberation struggles. Within the specificity and particularity of these liberation struggles lies the Tamil Eelam Liberation Struggle.

The struggle for Tamil Eelam caught the attention of the international media after the July 1983 holocaust. It must be stressed at this stage, that the armed struggle for Tamil Eelam had been launched as early as 1972. Since the diplomatic intervention of India in July, 83, the attention of the media was directed mainly because of the position India took in the Sri Lanka dispute. The armed struggle urged by various groups, most specially by LTTE, was portrayed favourably and unfavourably by different media at different times. I am attempting here to present the view of certain journalists and interested persons who at times have given favourable reports. The presentation is mainly divided into 3 categories.

1. LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM AND THE LEADERSHIP

Guardian reporter Derek Brown said:

"What really marks out the Tigers is the quality of their leadership, and their close identity with the people. To these have been lately added the mystique of selfsacrifice. **The Tigers have been for the past four years, among the most deadly and successful of nationalist guerilla movements.** Prabaharan was causing deep unease in New Delhi. His power pose was 'at home', not in Tamil Nadu, and most of his funds came from sympathisers in Tamil communities in the West, not from India. In short he was too independent for Indian tastes."

L Piyadasa from Colombo writes:

"Among those reduced to second class citizenship or unjustly discriminated against, the response to oppression on grounds of *race or religion* may take a diversity of forms. Keeping that in mind we have to consider carefully and critically both the Tamil communalist responses to what has been meted out to them by Sinhala-racist governments and gangs and the Tamil struggle for national liberation, justice, progress and peace in a multi-ethnic Sri Lanka. In the past fifteen years, and particularly since 1983, **the emergence to the forefront of the 'militant' groups has to be taken account of if Sri Lanka is to become again a civilised and peaceful country.** The demands of these groups have come to be known all over the world, and even among some Sinhalese, as the result of a long chain of consequences of Sinhalese governments attempting to settle Sri Lanka's complex political, economic and moral issues to their advantage and liking by violence and duplicity. It has come about in 1986 that the Tamil militants, especially the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), wrested control of the city of Jaffna and the surrounding region which previously had passed from the control of democratically elected Sri Lankan administration to Sinhalese military rule. **Whatever anyone may individually think of LTTE, a remarkable chapter in Sri Lankan history is being written by some of its youth.**

The 1972 State Constitution was a big step in the transformation of a multi-ethnic Sri Lanka into a Sinhala-Buddhist Sri Lanka. Just about the time that the Sinhalese middle classes were first discovering that the 'Tamils' were their traditional enemy, there was born in Jaffna a boy who was to come to take this humbug as a fact of life. When he was only four, Velupillai Prabaharan would have learnt that he and Sri Lankans like him were henceforth expected to submit to the kind of treatment meted out to them in 1958, as long as they were subject to a racist government in Colombo. The lessons he continued to learn were not going to help him to get a minor job and become a submissive citizen. They were lessons in national oppression given by arrogant and self-satisfied men and women in Colombo who believed that for ever and ever they alone would call the shots; they were also lessons in national liberation from his reading of the Indian Independence struggle against the British (especially in Bengal where Subhas Chandra Bose had been prominent), and from discussions with others. He was to 'graduate' as the most outstanding Sri Lankan military tactician in modern times."

Miss Karen Parker said:

"The LTTE are indigenous to Sri Lanka. They answer to no other drum than their people's aspirations, safety and honour. Others involved in the tragic events of the last years may not be in that position. Finally, while **India must weigh many factors in their foreign policy decisions, LTTE cannot and will not put any interest**

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ahead of their people and cause."

2. *INDIAN OFFENCES*

Erich Schmid from the Swiss media who visited the North and East of Sri Lanka in January 1988 writes: "Obviously the Tigers adapt very quickly to new situations; one of the main points of their new tactics is to keep away from areas where people still live. So they run less risks of losing sympathies with the people, who hardly seem to look upon the LTTE as dangerous anymore. The only ones who still risk losing their lives are those betraying the LTTE to the IPKF. But the more the Indians behave so unfriendly the more the number of those people becomes negligible. Before the offensive in October the IPKF obviously thought that everything would be over within 48 hours. Nowadays it seems as if they will never be able to win this war. The battle has been going on for three and a half months now without any body being able to see light at the end of the tunnel. **Quite clearly, peace will only be reached by means of political negotiations with the LTTE leaders."**

A Jaffna University student says:

"The effect of four years of pre-Indo-Sri Lanka Accord violence has been telescoped into 4 weeks of post-Indo-Lanka Accord strife.

I recall a part of A.C.Alles Commission report:

"I was considerably struck by the patience, courage and devotion to duty of large sections of the Jaffna population who, in the midst of their troubles and tribulations in this dreadful conflict, behaved with remarkable equanimity in going about their normal duties and attending to their work in the face of the disaster which affected them. **They are the unsung heroes and heroines in this tragic episode."**

Dilip Bobb writes in 'India Today':

In a secret briefing paper sent to Rajiv Gandhi, Sundarji has termed a pull-out by the IPKF as "unacceptable." Says one of his key aids: "We would like to change our nomenclature from IPKF to the Accord implementation force. That is our main brief to ensure that the Accord is fully implemented. Pulling out before that will be political and military suicide. He continues to say that the loss of lives in Sri Lanka, the financial cost of the operation and the fact that the enemy is of Tamil origin are seen as a small sacrifice compared to the gains for India's overall, long- term strategic interests."

"The palmyrah in a storm will sway and be perhaps uprooted but will never bend like the reed which survives the storm. Today the people of palmyrah land are swaying in the gust of strong wind unleashed by India's 'Operation Pawan'. Will the palmyrah people bend or break? - D.B.S.Jayaraj, in the 'Island'.

3. *BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF JAFFNA*

D.B.S.Jeyaraj writes in the 'Island':

"There are four factors that are to the LTTE's advantage for the battle for the hearts and minds of the Tamil people. The first is to recognise that the Indian forces are actually imposing a military and not a political solution. Secondly, the tenacity and the dogged determination of the Sri Lankan Tamils in struggling for their rights in this country both violently and non-violently suggests that the Tamils will not opt for second class solutions; the real article must be there. Against the backdrop the distribution of sops or public relations exercises would not suffice particularly when most of the damage done was by the Indians. Until the legitimate aspirations of the Tamils are realised no amount of Indian posturing could capture Tamil imagination. Thirdly, among the community there is the feeling of pride that 'our boys' have taken on the Indian Army and fought creditably. By the same token other Tamil groups by their 'deafening silence' on the Indian operation have tarnished their image. If and when the Tamils get into democratic politics again, the all-important question will be, "What was your stand in the wake of the Indian aggression?." The fourth factor has been described by **Bryan Jenkins, the U.S. Rent Corporation expert on terrorism.** According to him a guerrilla struggle based on a nationalist goal is the hardest to be put down. **"A man may outgrow his ideology but a man cannot disown his race."**

Finally a word from a former Indian General Jagat Singh Arora:-

"India seems to be in a no-win situation. If it succeeds in eliminating the Tigers it can only be at the expense of alienating the Tamils; if it does not succeed it loses prestige and tarnishes the reputation of its Army."

Your Voice

continued from page 2

culated effort to eliminate the only Tamil guerrilla group which could not be hoodwinked into collaborating with the perpetrators of this diabolical scheme.

The Rajiv Gandhi Administration which claimed that it could "disarm" the LTTE within 72 hours is still engaged in an "unwinnable" war after 10 months of fighting. **There is growing opposition to Mr. Gandhi's adventure in Sri Lanka both within his own party and the opposition. In Sri Lanka, there is almost universal opposition to the Indian presence by all Sinhalese politicians including the incumbent Prime Minister, the Minister for National Security and the leader of the opposition.** Meanwhile, the virulently anti Tamil JVP is conducting its own campaign of terror with the stated aim of destabilising the government of Junius Jayawardene.

Given this scenario, it is inevitable that Indian leaders would realise that only a genuine "peace accord" with the Tamils could bring about peace in the region and most importantly (from India's point of view) secure India's geo political concerns.

Any such agreement between the Tamils and India should therefore reflect the principles established at the "Thimpu Talks" in 1984 while recognising India's status as the regional power.

Perhaps, it is time we direct our efforts towards enabling all those opposed to Mr. Gandhi's policy in Sri Lanka see the obvious merits of such a proposal.

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THIRUKKURAL

By S.Sriskandarajah

தீயினாற் சுட்டபுண் உள்ளாறும் ஆறுதே
நாவினாற் சுட்ட வடு.

"THEEYINAAL CHUDDA PUNN ULLAARUM
AARAATHAY NAAVINAAL CHUDDA VADU" *(Transliteration)*

"The blister caused by fire will heal.
But the brand of a bitter tongue will never heal" *(Translation)*

If every person scans his own faults as he does his neighbour's, no evil can befall a living man. But that is not the case with most of us. We use double standards. We use a magnifying glass when we look at the fault of others, while using a plain mirror when looking at ours. This is more evident in the area of the use of our tongue. Whereas we wag our tongue as we like, we complain that others have a bad tongue. This is the way of the world.

Possession of self-restraint is a great virtue. Self control places one among the gods. Lack of self control leads one to the darkness of hell. Even if one word of you causes pain to another, all your virtue is lost. Therefore we have to be very cautious and sparing in the use of our tongue. As both prosperity and ruin are caused by words we must guard against imperfection in the use of our tongue.

As *Thiruvalluvar* is of the firmest conviction that majority of our human conflicts and personality clashes are generated by the abuse of our tongue he extols the virtue of restraint of tongue in more than two chapters, namely chapters 13, 19 and 65.

The Kural under consideration is the ninth Kural in the chapter on Possession of Self-restraint. Let us paraphrase the Kural again. The wounds inflicted by weapons or fire may close in time; scalds may heal gradually; but wounds inflicted by words remain painful as long as one lives. The wound caused by fire will heal soon even though it may leave a scar on the surface of the body; but it does not leave any scar in one's mind. That is not the case with a wound inflicted by taunting words that are caustic in character. The wound caused by words does not leave any external mark but it leaves an indelible internal mark in the mind of the person at whom these words were thrown and it serves as the seed for further strife and conflict.

This Kural is best illustrated by an episode from the great epic *Mahabharata. Dronacharya* and *Drupada* were friends. They were class mates. They were so intimate that *Drupada* who was the son of a king used to tell *Dronacharya* that he would give half his kingdom when he ascended the throne.

Drona learned archery under *Parasurama* and became unrivalled master of the military art. Meanwhile *Drupada* had become the king of *Panchala* on the death of his father. *Drona* who had fallen on evil days, heard of the coronation of his friend *Drupada* and went to him in the hope that *Drupada would remember his boyhood days and treat him generously. When Drona* introduced himself as an old friend , *Drupada* felt as if that kind of introduction was an effrontery and roared: Oh! Brahmana, how dare you address me familiarly as your friend? What friendship can there be between a throned king and a wandering beggar? What a fool must you be to presume on some long past acquaintance to claim friendship with a king who rules a kingdom? How can a pauper be a friend of a wealthy man?" *Dronacharya* was turned out of the palace with scorn in his ears and a blazing wrath in his heart. *Dronacharya* could not forget and did not forget the mordant remarks made by *Drupada* and waited for an opportune moment. That time came when *Kauravas and Pandavas* to whom *Dronacharyar* had thereafter become a master became experts in the martial arts. He sent *Arjuna* to seize *Drupada* and bring him alive. *Arjuna* defeated *Drupada* in battle and brought him captive to *Drona. Drupada* stood before *Drona* his face turned to the ground in shame and disgrace. "Aren't I your equal now?" asked *Drona* and chuckled. *Drona* thought this sufficient revenge for the insult he had suffered at the hands of *Drupada* and set him at liberty and treated him with honour.

The above is a sound illustration to prove the fact that abusive words are hard to bear and harder to be forgotten even by people of *Drona's* sobriety and fairness who always remained poised and never poisoned.

NEWS FLASH

INDIA CLAMPS DOWN ON LTTE IN TAMIL NADU

The Government of India has clamped down on the political activities of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Tamil Nadu by closing down its political headquarters in Madras and arresting more than 200 LTTE cadres throughout the state. On the instructions of the Central Government, the Tamil Nadu police swooped down on LTTE offices and residences in the early hours of the morning of August 8, and arrested all LTTE activists operating in Madras and other cities in Tamil Nadu. The former Jaffna commander Mr.Krishnakumar (Kittu) continues to be under house arrest in Madras. **Several LTTE members who were receiving treatment in Madurai hospital and elsewhere were also taken into custody.**

The government of India placed the LTTE offices under armed police guard since the 27th July. The mass arrest of LTTE members in Tamil Nadu signals the hardening attitude of the Government of India towards the LTTE. **In a hard-hitting statement issued in Madras on 4th August, the Indian Prime Minister Mr.Rajiv Gandhi accused the LTTE of intransigence and bad faith. The LTTE has rejected the accusation as baseless and irresponsible.** The crackdown on the LTTE in Tamil Nadu is generally regarded as a pressure tactic to force the LTTE to lay down arms and to accept the accord.

The LTTE stated that their organisation was not in any way involved in the bank robbery in Madurai which occurred on the 6th August and condemns attempts made by certain forces who were trying to implicate it in this incident with the malicious aim of discrediting the movement.

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EELAM NEWS

THE LTTE SALUTE THE MARTYRS

299 Liberation Tigers have attained martyrdom in the Indo-Tamil Eelam war during the last 10 months since the beginning of the conflict on the 10th of October 1987. The LTTE in its message states as follows:- "We salute the 299 Liberation Tigers who have attained martyrdom during the past 10 months defending their homeland. We also pay homage to more than 5000 innocent civilians who have been mercilessly slaughtered in the genocidal war against the Tamils".

"The LTTE is fighting this war on several fronts, against the forces whose aim is to crush the Tamil Liberation struggle. We are confronting the Government of India on one side which has betrayed the Tamils. We are facing the fraternal groups on the other side, who have become traitors and collaborate with the Indian Government for meagre concessions. On a different front, we are confronting the chauvinistic fascist Government of Jayewardene. Confronting these forces, whose aim is to extinguish the flame of freedom, our fighters are putting up a heroic struggle and are sacrificing their lives for a noble cause. **We, once again, salute these martyrs".**

BASELESS ACCUSATION BY RAJIV

According to a press release by the LTTE high command, the Indian Prime Minister while addressing a press conference in Tamil Nadu on 5/8/88, has accused the LTTE of breach of commitments. The LTTE has reacted to the callous accusation of the Indian Prime Minister as irresponsible and baseless. While refuting the accusation of the Prime Minister, the LTTE spokesman has said:-

"You can win to your side opportunists who desire comforts and are prepared to accept concessions. But we have principles and are prepared to die for those principles."

SAM MISSILES

"The Government of India, in a statement recently, claimed that it has discovered SAM Missiles in the LTTE's arsenal and regretted that foreign powers are assisting our movement to prolong this unnecessary war to destablise the region.

We wish to point out that the Government of India has been aware for a long time that the LTTE possessed SAM Missiles. About one and a half years ago, before inviting our leader Mr.Prabaharan to the Bangalore conference, the Government of India, confiscated our arms in Tamil Nadu as a pressure tactic. **The confiscated arms contained SAM Missiles also. These missiles were later returned to us. Following the "Operation Liberation" offensive launched by the Sri Lankan Government, the Government of India arranged a training programme to train our cadres in the use of SAM Missiles.** During this time, the Government of India, did not bother about which foreign forces had supplied these missiles. The Government of India was primarily motivated in utilizing us as their mercenary force to secure its own interests. But the Government of India realized to its great disappointment that the LTTE could not be utilized as mercenaries since our movement is deeply committed to the cause of our people. We are aware of the consequences of involving foreign powers in our struggle. The Indian involvement and the genocide practised by the Indian troops against our people is a glaring example of foreign intervention. We firmly believe that we can advance our freedom struggle with the strength and support of our people without seeking foreign assistance. To maintain our honour, we did not disclose or expose several instances in which the Government of India behaved dishonourably. But when the "greatest" democracy and its Prime Minister attempt to legitimise their actions to protect their own interests, we have no alternative other than to reveal the truth to our own people".

147 INDIAN SOLDIERS KILLED

During the period 1st July to 30th July 1988, 147 Indian soldiers lost their lives in the confrontation with the LTTE. 38 soldiers were wounded. The Indian forces have killed 47 innocent Tamils and have injured another 27. Ten Tamil women were raped by the Indian forces. 75 houses were demolished. 4000 Tamil people had become refugees as a result of the shelling in the Kilinochi district.

The details of the Indian soldiers killed are as follows: Jaffna district - 11, Kilinochi district -10, Mannar district -17, Mullaitivu district - 57, Trincomalee district -23, Batticaloa - 22, Amparai district - 7.

On the LTTE side, 2nd Leutenants Mariya, Ananthi, Kailai, Gnani, Captains Edvin, Kasi, Mahenthi, and Sangili, Rathai, Simon, Chenthooran, Kanthi, Manoharan, Kanthan attained martyrdom.

FIVE BUSINESSMEN IN CUSTODY

Reports coming from Sri Lanka sources say that following the arrest of the proprietor of a shop in Vavuniya on suspicion that he has connections with the Tamil Tigers, all shops and kiosks in the Vavuniya area remain closed, demanding the immediate release of all the five businessmen who have recently been taken into custody by the Indian peace keeping force.

NINE CAMPS OF IPKF

Reports reaching TVI news desk from Colombo, indicate that many mini camps have mushroomed in the villages near Kilinochchi, Vavuniya, Mullaitivu and Trincomalee districts.

TELO HAS JOINED HANDS WITH THE IPKF

According to reports reaching London from Madurai, members of the mollycoddled TELO who are now operating in Vavuniya with the blessings of the IPKF, are reported to have demanded the owners of the shops that remain closed in protest against the capricious arrest and detention of the five business proprietors, to open the shops for business or to face dire consequences.

According to informed sources the IPKF appears to be fishing in troubled waters, using the animosity among the rival groups to achieve their own ends.

TIGERS JAILED IN TAMIL NADU

Some cadres of the LTTE in Tamil Nadu have been rounded up and jailed by armed police according to unconfirmed reports reaching London. It is supected that this arrest may have something to do with the alleged bank robbery in one of the south Indian towns.

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SIRIMAVO HAS SECRET PLAN

The Sri Lanka Freedom party will, when elected to office, put into effect its own secret plan to end the bloody ethnic strife that has been plaguing the country for the past eleven years, said Mrs Bandaranaike the SLFP leader at a rally at Kotahena on August 5, 1988. She has declared that she would not bring in a third party and that she would have direct dealings with the LTTE and other northern militant groups.

THONDA WANTS TO BE A MEDIATOR

According to Sri Lankan news papers Mr Thondaman, Minister of Rural and Industrial Development has offered to negotiate between the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam and the government of India to settle the confrontation between them. He has said that he could positively produce results if only he could have access to the leader of the LTTE.

BOOZA CAMP VISITED BY INDIAN HIGH COMMISSION OFFICIALS

According to reports from Colombo, Indian High commisiion officials in Sri Lanka are busy at Booza Camp where thousands of Tamil youths mainly students are kept captive, collecting data from detainees to ascertain the number of detainees who are in support of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord of 1987. It is reliably learnt that those that support the Accord will have the prospect of being released.

MORE MILITARY MUNITIONS TO TRINCO AND BATTICALOA

Shiploads of arms, ammunition and military personnel are being brought into Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts says a telephone message received from Colombo.

"NO CEASE FIRE" - Rajiv

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has ruled out any possibility of a cease fire with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam under the present circumstances. - The Sunday Times (Colombo), 7th August, 1988.

CHILLIES, AND ONIONS IMPORTED

According to a Food and Commodity Bulletin of the ARTI, chillies and onions had to be imported to fill the gap in the local supply. The shortfall was due to the situation in the North and East.

IPKF TAKEN ABACK

According to latest reports Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam have suddenly intensified their attacks on the IPKF. The reason for such intensification appears to be the failure of the always elusive peace talks between the Tamil Tigers and the IPKF.

The Tamil Tigers have, it is reported, carried out attacks on the IPKF camps at Chavakachcheri, Sarasalai, Eluthumadduval, Pallai and Kodikamam.

POLITICAL KILLINGS ON THE RISE

According to our political correspondent in Colombo, there have been 151 political killings in the South since the signing of the Accord last year and 29th July this year. It is learnt that Matara heads the list with 72 political murders and Hambantota comes next with 61 killings.

GUERRILA WARFARE IS A NASTY BUSINESS

Thomas Perry Thornton, adjunct professor of Soviet and Asian studies at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies said that he did not see "any malign Indian involvement in Sri Lanka." Thornton who has served on the policy planning staff at

the State Department and, during the Carter administration, as a senior member of the National Security Council staff, said he believed that although the **"Indians are in a sense behaving responsibly, the problem is that they have finally run into somebody else's nationalism. It is analogous to Afghanistan and Vietnam in a way", he said, "where, as did the Soviet Union and the US, New Delhi had miscalculated in thinking that in a few days they could take care of this. It turns out you can't.** Guerrilla warfare is a nasty business", he added. Thornton was of the opinion that **"what India wanted out of this more than anything else was what it got in that exchange of letters that came with the agreement, which was to punish Sri Lanka for looking abroad and ensuring that it did not do it again for some reason, which I have never understood, and to insult the United States in the process."**

He was apparently referring to India's apprehension that the massive Voice of America transmission stationed in Sri Lanka would be used for electronic surveillance of India's naval exercises and that the United States had an interest in Sri Lanka's natural Trincomalee harbour.

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CAN DEMOCRACY BE RESCUED IN SRI LANKA?

By Tamil Welfare & Human Rights Committee, USA.

Democracy does not come by providing for 'Elections' in the Statute Book, and by declaring 'Universal Franchise'. Sri Lanka is a classic case where democracy has all but been interred, while Sinhalese politicians pay lip service to these tenets.

Sri Lanka's 13th Amendment to the Constitution creating Provincial Councils is the last nail in the country's 'democracy' coffin. The much publicised Indo- Sri Lanka Accord of July 29, 1987, was entered into ostensibly to end the dispute between the minority Tamil and the majority Sinhalese communities. The grievance of the Tamils in Sri Lanka was that the tyranny of the Sinhalese majority, since the Island's independence in 1948, had become intolerable to the point of the Tamil minority having to take up arms to regain its fundamental rights.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord purported to solve the Island's ethnic problem by granting to the Tamils an acceptable measure of autonomy in their traditional homelands of the Northern and Eastern Provinces. However, it is no more a secret that **Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and President Jayewardene entered into the infamous Indo-Sri Lanka Accord to take the intense heat off other dangerous problems threatening their personal and political survival.** This is the major reason for the fact that the Accord which started out with the goal of resolving the ethnic conflict was neither designed nor signed by one of the parties to the conflict - the aggrieved minority party - the Tamils or any of their representatives. The Accord surreptitiously implies that any autonomy that might be afforded to the Tamil majority community in the Northern and Eastern Provinces would continue to be subservient to the national interest which in the future too would be determined by the Sinhalese majority in the other regions. This wipes out the primary objective of the Tamil struggle - to free themselves of oppression from Sinhala domination.

Under the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord, the Sinhalese army remains in the Tamil territory fully armed, the Sri Lanka Air Force remains poised within easy striking distance of Tamil territory and guarantees the presence of armed Sinhalese Police in Tamil territory. With the fear of more than 10 years of calculated state terrorism, unleashed on them through these armed Sinhalese forces, still fresh in their minds, how could the beleaguered Tamils expect democracy to return, as much as they thirst for such fundamental freedom?

Furthermore, the Provincial Council is intended to function only as an Administrative (not legislative) Unit for the Northern and Eastern Provinces, whereas the Executive powers are vested in the Governor, the Chief Minister and the Board of Ministers who are to be appointed by the President himself, and from whom they will effectively derive their authority, and legislative matters of importance will be finally decided by the Sinhala-dominated Parliament. In this context, what do Provincial Council 'elections' mean to the Tamils? Democracy or a crafty subterfuge to weaken the Tamils even more, and tighten Sinhala control over Tamil provincial power under the pretext of devolution of power and in the name of Democracy!!

The irony of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution is that it offers proof again of the resolve of the Sinhala-dominated government not to lose any control over the traditional homelands of the Tamils, or to grant them any degree of genuine autonomy.

The Provincial Governor, a Presidential appointee, would hold power at the latter's pleasure and would be required to execute his direct commands. Although the Governor is normally expected to implement statutes in accordance with the advice of the Board of Ministers of the Council, he can ignore that and use his discretion, and such exercise of his discretion cannot be challenged even in a court of law.

Another serious impediment is the right of the President who would always, being a Sinhalese, proclaim an emergency and re-invest the Central Government with the Provincial power, and such proclamation is unchallengeable. In a country where democracy was battered under Emergency Regulations and rule, more often than not, this does not augur well for exercise of Provincial power.

Last but not least is that the finances of the Provincial Councils would be determined not by their needs or priorities but by a Finance Commission on which there would be no Provincial representation and to whom they cannot present requests for their needs. Allocation of funds might thus not have any bearing on their administrative or economic priorities and is not adjudicable. The President would have power to reserve the use of Provincial funds voted for certain purposes, and the power to cut the salaries of Provincial staff making them beholden to him rather than the Council for their job security.

It would be evident from the foregoing that in the name of 'Elections', hence 'Democracy', the Tamils in Sri Lanka will continue to be deprived of their fundamental rights, and there is no sign of their legitimate grievances heeded, let alone the 13th Amendment to the Constitution meeting the provisions in the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord! Tamil strength which induced the signatories to the Accord in the first place lay in its armed struggle. **The Tamils now face a situation where they certainly will not want to fall into the trap of accepting this pretence of power devolution through Provincial elections. They may now not stop short of being passive and not participate in the electoral process. They might not hesitate to physically prevent stooges of Government stage-managing the proposed Provincial Council elections and make it virtually impossible for such elections to be held.** Even if such elections were to be held despite such opposition, the members who are finally elected to the Provincial Council cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be the Tamil people's representatives.

What would Democracy be if in the Tamil homelands the Tamils cannot elect their representatives with their free will. Democracy would be interred for ever not only in the Northern and Eastern Provinces but also in the whole of Sri Lanka.

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CAN ANY POWER ON EARTH DENY THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA THE RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION?

This is the second and final part of the paper submitted By Dr.Brian Senewiratne, M.A.(Cantab.), M.D.(Lond.), F.R.C.P.(Lond.), F.R.A.C.P., Consultant Physician, Australia, to the 4th Thamil Eelam Convention held in Nanuet, New York. The first part appeared in Vol.I No:14.

The Buddhist clergy

It is this group of hardline ethno-religious chauvinists who, because of the power they wield over the Sinhalese-Buddhist majority, have, over some 30 years, successfully prevented devolution of power to the Tamil areas and a solution to the ethnic conflict. There is no sign that their extremism or their power over the electorate is on the decline. Indeed, the opposite is true. The 1987 Peace Agreement states that "Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious plural society in which all citizens can live in equality, safety and harmony...". President Jayewardene and Rajiv Gandhi saying so for their political survival and geopolitical ambitions is of little consequence. What matters is whether the Buddhist clergy, who continue to have a stranglehold on the Sinhalese-Buddhist majority, think so. The statement made by the Venerable Madhie Pannaseeha, the Mahanayake Thero of the Amarapura sect as recently as 1986 - *"Even though non-Sinhalese and non-Buddhists have been living in this country for a long time, Sri Lanka is the country of the Sinhala-Buddhists"* - does not leave room for optimism. Statements by other leading Buddhist clergy such as the Venerable Chandananda Palipane, the Mahanayake of the powerful Asgiriya Chapter of the Siam sect and the Venerable Sobitha, President of the Sinhala Bala Mandalaya (Sinhalese pressure group) are even more extreme.

The extremism of the Buddhist clergy and their violence is on the increase. They assassinated Bandaranaike; and their military wing, the Peoples Patriotic Front and the Movement for Defence of the Motherland, nearly assassinated Jayewardene. Other murderous groups that are now running riot in the south, have the strong support of sections of the Buddhist clergy such as the **Ven.Sobitha, probably Sri Lanka's future Ayatollah Khomeini.**

To compound the problem, there is a wave of ethno-religious chauvinism sweeping the Sinhalese areas which provides a fertile ground for the Buddhist clergy to propagate their extremism. The government controlled media have become powerful organs for the propagation of Sinhalese chauvinism with a complete exclusion of Tamil opinion. **The point cannot be overstressed that any political solution to the ethnic problem, if it is ever to be implemented, must find the support of the Sinhalese majority. It is very unlikely that a solution that genuinely accommodates Tamil aspirations in their present form will find the support of the Sinhalese people in the context of the ground swell of Sinhala chauvinism that is engulfing the country.** What we can do about this has been dealt with in a separate publication in which I have analysed possible solutions to the conflict and their implementation.

The continuing battle

The ongoing battle for the liberation of the Tamil people from Sinhala domination may ironically be a factor that prevents the very solution we are in pursuit of. The longer this conflict continues, the greater will be our losses, not only the loss of the best of our youth but in the progressive apathy and even antagonism of a battle-weary population in the Tamil areas.

There is a continuing serious dislocation of civilian life, of education, of employment and development which people will not tolerate for ever, even if liberation from Sinhala domination is the light at the end of the (long) tunnel. As the battle wages on between the militant Tamils and the Indian army, the casualties are the civilians. There is the appalling and demoralising debacle of Tamil killing Tamil, as one militant group betrays another, both supposedly fighting for the liberation of their people from Sinhala domination. This continuing madness cannot generate a great deal of confidence or support from the already devastated civilian population whose sons and daughters are the victims of this unnecessary violence. It also cannot generate world sympathy or support for the Tamil cause. The devastating impression is gaining ground that the entire Tamil struggle is nothing more than a squabble among intransigent, irresponsible Tamil youths. The basic problem of discrimination of the Tamil people has been lost sight of.

There is the ever-increasing problem of a totally undisciplined Indian army behaving like an army of occupation. Aside from the harassment of the civilian population as a foreign army attempts to flush out militants from among their own people, there is the indiscriminate killing by nervous, irresponsible troops, and plunder and rape by undisciplined troops. Parents spend sleepless nights trying to protect their daughters from the fourth largest army in the world. **The unsuccessful ones start the trek to Colombo in search of abortions or take the less embarrassing alternative of suicide. The problem is not only the presence of more than 70,000 Indian troops but their illiteracy. Bishop Swampillai of Batticaloa is reported to have told a foreign journalist, "Quite honestly, I don't think a lot of these Indian soldiers even know where they are.** When they saw our Moslems, some of them started asking if they were in Pakistan. Others apparently think they are still somewhere in South India. Let's face it, these soldiers are completely ignorant, totally illiterate. How can the soldiers possibly relate to us?" A Buddhist monk, Venerable Kalutara Thera from the eastern town of Morawewa, who complained to the IPKF high command about the behaviour of their rank and file, was apologetically told that, **"the bulk of the IPKF is made up of soldiers who do not have even a sixth standard education." This is to be expected since the IPKF come from a country where even in 1988 the illiteracy rate is high** (only 36% of Indians can read and write, as opposed to 86% in Sri Lanka).

The continuing presence of thousands of iliterate and undisciplined foreign troops struggling to do an impossible assignment among people they cannot relate to has had a disastrous effect. Their behaviour has

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further damaged an already brutalised population in the North and East who optimistically looked to these so-called 'peace-keepers' as their saviours. To compound the problem, the very presence of the IPKF in the Tamil areas has provided Sinhalese extremists in the South a previously non-existent degree of legitimacy to their claim that India's objective has always been to take over Sri Lanka. As a consequence anti-Indian feeling and, as a flow on, anti-Tamil feeling in the Sinhalese areas are mounting. There is no question that **the longer the Indian forces stay in Sri Lanka, the lesser the chance of a solution to the ethnic problem.**

China

If the regime in Colombo changes and Mrs.Bandaranaike replaces Jayewardene, as will probably happen if there is another election, **the entry of China into the conflict cannot be discounted.** Mrs.Bandaranaike has closer ties with China than with India. The earlier cordial relations that existed (which resulted in Indian troops salvaging her embattled regime from the JVP assault in 1971) was almost entirely because of the close personal relationship that Mrs.Bandaranaike had with Mrs.Gandhi. No such relationship exists with Mrs.Gandhi's son. In fact, one of the foremost opponents of the Rajiv Gandhi-Jayewardene Pact has been Mrs.Bandaranaike. If she takes the country, the IPKF might find that they have overstayed their welcome. They might well have to leave earlier. The Presidential election has to be held before January 1989 and the general election soon after. There is no way that Jayewardene can win either of these if the IPKF is allowed to remain in the country. **The likelihood of the Indians being asked to leave is high. Whether or not they will leave is another matter,** but Mrs.Bandaranaike having declared the 1987 Peace Pact illegal and having boycotted the Provincial Council elections on the grounds that it ensued from this pact, will find it difficult to permit the Indian army, whose presence is also a consequence of the Pact, to stay. Moreover, it is unlikely that the JVP terrorists who apparently support her and will probably dictate government policy through the barrel of the gun, will permit her to keep the Indian forces.

If the Indian forces leave, the replacement will be the Sri Lankan forces and a return to square one. The necessary backing for the Sri Lankan army might well come from China. China might not be too reluctant to get a foothold in Sri Lanka as was evidenced during Mrs.Bandaranaike's 1970-77 regime. The enthusiasm might be even greater if this foothold is a military one on the vulnerable southern flank of India. Those who dismiss such a suggestion as idle speculation might do well to remember that before India came to Jayewardene's rescue, China supplied him with gun-boats and other military hardware. How much more would the support be where the head of state is sympathetic to China? Those who discount the possibility of Chinese intervention might do well to recognise the total unpredictability of the Sri Lankan situation. How many of our pundits forecast a year ago that India would have done what she did or that the Indian army would have behaved the way it did. I would go so far as to say that not even President Jayewardene would have predicted who his saviour would have been.

Where the Tamil struggle for a separate state is concerned, a predictable opponent will be China. Battling with similar separatist tendencies in Tibet and other parts of the country, Peking, like Delhi, has more in common with the Sinhalese chauvinists in Colombo than with the Tamils.

Other factors

As I have indicated, there are other factors, perhaps even more important than the ones I have dealt with, which will deny the Tamils their justifiable right to self-determination. I refer to the problem of Tamil leadership. As a non- Tamil, I do not feel that it is appropriate for me to deal with this problem.

As a Sinhalese, I can make a contribution to the Tamil struggle for justice and equality which no Tamil can make. This contribution will be significantly reduced if I get involved in Tamil politics and internal power struggles. **The only comment I am prepared to make is that until the Tamil people in Sri Lanka evolve from among them credible leaders who will be taken seriously in Colombo, Delhi and in the international arena, there will be no end to the current chaos and thousands of innocent civilians will continue to die for no purpose.**

The current (June 1988) activity of the expatriate Tamil community is to crown one or other Tamil militant group as the 'king'. I can do no better than to quote the distinguished Indian former Supreme Court Judge, Krishna Iyer, who after attending a recent London Tamil conference wrote, "The only caution I would administer, with emphasis, after having observed the proceedings, is this. What is important is the Tamil cause, not so much an obsession with the LTTE and its supremo Prabakaran.... What is important is the formation of a United Front...". I hope that these words of someone who is genuinely interested in the future of the Tamil people, will not pass unnoticed.

Summary

A summary of the situation is that there are many who can and undoubtedly will obstruct the Tamils in their quest for justice and equality since it is in their interests to do so. To compound the problem, there are problems in the Tamil camp itself. Some of these have been outlined in a separate publication on possible solutions to this conflict and methods of implementation. I have no doubt that the current pursuit of a military victory by either side will not result in a solution. As I have repeatedly said, **I do not think the Tamil youths can be disarmed, and even less so, be crushed by military might. The only way to disarm them is to address and correct the reasons which compelled them to take up arms. Military force is not an option. On the other hand, I do not believe that the militant youths can win this war and obtain Eelam.** The opposition is simply too powerful. My greatest fear is that these simple truths will not be appreciated and that Tamils will choose to believe the more reassuring, beguiling and seductive proposition that all will be well and sooner or later we will arrive at Eelam. As David Selbourne recently pointed out in one of the most accurate assessments I have ever read, "Eelam is not round the next corner, or even the next-but-one corner." Unless we get our act together and plan a proper strategy to deal with these overwhelming forces, Eelam might never come and the Tamil people will continue to live as second, or even third class citizens in the country of their birth.

Before I close, let me emphasize one point. The fact that I believe that there are enormous forces which are operating against us does not mean that I am pessimistic or that I suggest that we abandon the field. On the

continued on page 14

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SRI LANKA NEWS

Indian losses in Sri Lanka

According to Indian Defence Minister K C Pant a total of 511 soldiers of the Indian Peace Keeping Force were killed in the North and East of Sri Lanka during the past twelve months. Replying to questions in the Rajya Sabha, Pant has stated that a sum of 980 million Rupees has been spent on IPKF operations in Sri Lanka, upto the end of May 1988. But according to unofficial estimates the number killed is said to be over 2,000 Indian soldiers.

New Inspector General of Police appointed

Mr Earnest Perera who was the senior Deputy Inspector General of Police has now been appointed the new Inspector General of Police following the retirement of Mr Cyril Herath on 29th July, 1988.

130 JVP Subversives Arrested

About 130 persons suspected to be members of the JVP have been taken in for questioning in the Southern Province on the 26th of July 1988. According to Chief Minister M S Amarasiri, they are alleged to have been involved in subversive activities.

Presidential polls before general elections

According to highly placed governmental sources J R has decided that the election for the President of Sri Lanka should be held first and that he will not himself come forward as the UNP candidate. It appears that the President has come to the above conclusions after careful consideration of the political situation in the country.

English medium education for returning Lankans

Sri Lankan Labour Minister Mr Joseph Michael Perera is reported to have said that the Sri Lankans and their families returning from employment overseas will be provided facilities for their children to pursue their studies in the English medium.

Curfew continues in Galle, Matara and Hambantota

It is reported that because of bloody violence in the Galle, Matara and Hambantota districts, the curfew which was clamped down a week ago continues to be imposed regularly except for brief intervals.

Dangerous peace in Colombo?

The violence that expectedly erupted in Colombo on the 29th last month continues to rock Colombo and the suburbs as more and more suspected subversives continue to cause sporadic mischief and destructions to the people and property of Ratmalana, Moratuwa and Punchi Borella areas.

IPKF will not be withdrawn

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi told the Lok Sabha a week ago that the Indian army on Sri Lankan soil will not be withdrawn until their assignment in Lanka is completed.(Week End - July 31, 1988)

All doctors are in Colombo

According to a news item published in the Sri Lanka "Week End" of July 31, 1988 about 70% of the medical officers employed in the curative services of the Health Sector of Sri Lanka are in Colombo District. It is reported that the Tamil Districts of Vavuniya, Mannar, and Mullaitheevu Districts have the lowest ratio of medical officers per 10,000 population. The pattern of distribution of nurses, it is stated, is similar to that of medical officers in the curative sector.

House of SLFPer bombed

According to Monaragala Police, unidentified attackers threw bombs at the residence of SLFP organizer for Bibile, Mr Sena de Silva. This is reported to have taken place on 30th July, 1988.

HEARD THIS ?

"Our Sinhala kings employed mercenaries in addition to the locally organised militia. It is recorded that they were employed for both land and air fights during 3rd century B.C. It is even recorded that there were air fights too!! *By Wilfred Gunasekera (The Island - July 31, 1988)*

TAUNTS FOR VISITING P.M.

200 angry protestors greeted the Sri Lankan Prime Minister Ranasinghe Premadasa and his family when he visited Springvale. The protesters, members of the Ceylon Tamil Association, gathered outside Springvale City Hall on Saturday, July 30. He was in Australia to attend the Brisbane Expo.

The protesters chanted loudly when the Prime Minister arrived and burnt an effigy of him before leaving, while the Prime Minister was still inside the hall.

Vice-president of the Ceylon Tamil Association, Dr.Rajan Rasiah, said the protest was organised to remind the Prime Minister of their grievances with the Government in Sri Lanka. He said the Tamils were a minority in Sri Lanka which had been treated shabbily by the Sri Lankan government. "We have been asking for our rights over the past 30 years and have never been treated reasonably", he said. "We wanted to bring our grievances again to the Prime Minister's notice." He said the protest was also to make the Australian people aware of their mistreatment.

Prime Minister Mr.Premadasa

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"We have been wronged", he said. "There are human rights violations going on in Sri Lanka... and such a government should be criticised. It was disheartening that the Mayor of Springvale welcomed the Prime Minister - he may not have realised what the Prime Minister and his government have done", Dr.Rasiah said.

He concluded that July was a very "unhappy" month for the Tamils because in July 1983 there were race riots in Sri Lanka when Tamils were massacred in their thousands. It was also in July last year that an Indian Peace Keeping Force was called into Sri Lanka.

Many members of the Ceylon Tamil Association who live in Springvale and Clayton took part in the peaceful protest. *Debbie Richards in 'The Times (Colombo)- August 3, 1988*

13th Amendment to the Constitution

By Prof.A.Jeyaratnam Wilson

(Part I of this article appeared in Vol.I No.14)

The executive power is wholly vested, under Article 154C, in the Governor who is appointed by the President. It states: *Executive power extending to the matters to which a Provincial Council has power to make statutes shall be exercised by the Governor.....either directly or through Ministers of the Board of Ministers or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with Article 154F.*

Paragraphs (1),(2) and (3) of Article 154G tell us that the Provincial Councils can pass or enact any number of statutes within the compass of powers alienated to Provincial Councils in List I (Provincial Councils List). But Article 154F (1),(2) and (3) invests the Governor with the sole power of executing the legislation enacted by a Provincial Council. Article 154F(1) empowers the Governor to act "in his discretion." Article 154F(2) states that if there is any question on the Governor acting in his discretion, *the decision of the Governor acting in his discretion shall be final and the validity of anything done by the Governor shall not be called in question in any court.....*(our emphasis)

And Article 154F(3) makes it doubly certain that the Governor will be freed from any judicial control when it states, *the question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by the Ministers to the Governor shall not be inquired into in any Court.*

The Chief Minister and the Board of Ministers are therefore no more than advisors to the Governor as in a Crown Colony. **Autonomy makes no sense if powers are divided and distributed in three Lists and the right to execute legislation is vested in a non-responsible authority/executive such as the Governor who by virtue of Article 154B(2) is appointed by the President and holds office "during the pleasure of the President."**

In the case of the Colombo government, the Executive President can be rendered impotent if he refrains from executing laws passed by Parliament. Parliament will then cut off funds to the President and his position becomes untenable. There are no such sanctions available to a Provincial Council which must depend on the Colombo government for the major segment of its finances.

The autonomy granted is rendered nonsensical when the Chief Ministers and his Ministers are in no position to compel public officials to carry out their orders. For, it is the Governor, who has the authority to issue orders, not a cabinet of ministers, as in a State in the Indian Federation.

Furthermore, Section 33(1) of Provincial Councils Act No.42 of 1987 provides for a Provincial Public Service Commission of not less than three persons appointed by the Governor, not even with advice. And Section 32(1) of the same Act states that "the appointment, transfer, dismissal and disciplinary control of officers of the Provincial Public Service" is vested in the Governor. Thus the elected, responsible and accountable Chief Minister and his Board of Ministers are endowed with powers to enact statutes under List I (the Provincial Councils List). Their implementation lies with a non- responsible Governor and a body of public officials selected and answerable to him and him alone. This makes a mockery of autonomy. The democratic Indian Constitution does not permit such a possible deadlock between ministers in a State and their officials.

To ensure that Provincial Councils do not have even an iota of executive power, Article 154H(2) does not state within what period of time the Governor should grant his assent after the statute is presented to him for his assent. Whereas, in the case of statutes that are in dispute, Article 154H(4) provides a time frame of one month within which the Governor must reserve the statute for a determination by the Supreme Court. Presumably where normal assent is required the Governor can delay for an indeterminate time span the granting of his assent.

When these provisions are read with the powers enumerated in the Provincial Councils List (List I) and the Concurrent List (List III), the entire exercise is a perversion of the principle of autonomy. One example, and this is repeated on a careful scrutiny of Lists I and III, exemplifies the perversion of the autonomy principle, in fact its deliberate obfuscation. The second power in List I is, "Planning - Implementation of provincial economic plans." In the Concurrent List where the Central Government has priority under the first power 'Planning', the sublisting '1:1' reads: "Formulation and appraisal of plan implementation strategies at the provincial level." There is not even freedom in the interestices of the distribution of power. Such is the tight iron grip of the political and bureaucratic apparatus of Colombo.

When to this is added the arbitrary emergency provisions, the one-sided concept of the National Ethnic Ratio in regard to land distribution, the powers relating to the police and security and the enormous control over 'Education' (Appendix III), the exercise becomes one of futility. **Provincial Councils are no more than municipal councils.**

The entire legislation hangs on the verdict of judges of the Supreme Court, selected by the Sinhala-dominated Colombo government. Many of these judges have in the recent past been appointed on political grounds, and with no doubt, on the basis that the majority of them should be from the ethnic majority. The difficulty arises when the Supreme Court has to make political decisions on constitutionally disputed cases. Even the judgment on the Thirteenth Amendment indicated some evidence of ethnic bias. All the judges from the ethnic minorities - Chief Justice Sharvananda, Justices H.D. Thambiah (both Ceylon Tamils) and Percy Colin-Thome (a member of the tiny Burgher minority) plus two judges from the Sinhala ethnic community voted in favour. The four judges who held against the Thirteenth Amendment were from the Sinhala ethnic majority. **In view of the dangers of politically tainted decisions, constitutional cases**

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must be decided by a special Constitutional Court as in the case of the 1972 Sri Lanka Constitution. However, a proportion of the judges, one-third to one-half, must be appointed from the ethnic minorities (Sri Lankan Tamils, plantation Tamils, Muslims and Burghers) and decisions must be by two-thirds majority. Alternatively the Provinces should submit a list of nominees (say three or four) from which the President of Sri Lanka must choose one. In the case of the merged Tamil province, the number of judges to be appointed from its list of six should be three. The hill-country or plantation Tamils should have one of their two nominees appointed, as should the Muslims. The Supreme Court should comprise no more than nine judges and constitutional cases should be determined by a two-thirds majority. Since the Supreme Court is of such importance, a provision such as this can mitigate the dangers to which ethnic minorities are exposed in politically charged cases.

Professor M.L.Marasinghe, Professor of Law, University of Windsor (Canada) and Visiting Professor of Law, University of Colombo, in his recent (June 1988) "Ethnic Politics and Constitutional Reform: The Indo-Sri Lankan Accord: A Backdrop to the Problem", stated: *.....What has been made the subject of constitutional reform as a concession to the Tamil minority falls far short of 'Eelam' - the establishment of a separate state which they had claimed through force of arms over a considerable number of years. The reform package contained in the Provincial Councils Bill and the 13th Amendment is no more than the creation of an ethnically ascertain local body exercising subordinate legislation. Further the legislation in question could be repealed by any future Parliament that could obtain a two-thirds majority with no additional requirement to seek a referendum..... .*

Professor Marasinghe's opinion should be weighed carefully. Besides being a legal expert in the area of Sri Lanka constitutional law, his views on various cases filed by Mrs.Sirimavo Bandaranaike have been sought by her counsel.

ON BALANCE

From the legal point of view, it is beyond doubt that the substance of the legislation amounts to our getting no more than a larger local body dressed up better in the clothes of a Provincial Council.

There are hurdles if the changes are to be effected. At this stage, after the Sri Lanka government has gone through the exercise of holding provincial council elections in the Sinhalese provinces, which have accepted the legislation of the Thirteenth Amendment, it will politically be an impossibility to coerce the Sri Lanka government to make changes especially because they face the presidential election and a parliamentary general election soon.

CONCLUSION

My considered view is that the Sri Lanka government and the Sinhalese people will not permit the proper working of Provincial Councils. Sooner than later there are likely to be disputes, deadlocks followed by a dissolution of the Provincial Councils. It is possible that for a very short honeymoon period, efforts will be made to encourage the Councils. But I have little doubt that quarrelling and feuding will re-commence.

The LTTE will therefore have to address its mind to the near future as well, that is assuming that the Provincial Councils get starting and then are dissolved.

In this interim period, the LTTE and its allies will have to educate opinion in Tamil Nadu, a near impossibility. My view is that Tamil Nadu makes use of the Eelam issue only to the extent that it serves Tamil Nadu's narrow and immediate interests. The LTTE will therefore also have to think in terms of a broader long-term strategy. Basically this would mean not placing all the eggs in the Indian basket. The Eelam cause has therefore to be internationalised. New allies and sympathisers will have to be found. This will be a difficult and uphill task. But, as I see it, there does not seem to be any other alternative.

Self Determination

continued from page 11

contrary, I feel that this is the time to identify our foes, close our ranks and step up our campaign. It is the time to obtain new recruits to strengthen our ranks and even more importantly, regain the support of those, whom I will not name, whose support we have lost by our stupidity. I can assure the Tamils that there are many non-Tamils such as myself, who are prepared to support the cause of the oppressed Tamil people, a cause that is large enough to arouse the concerns and commitments of all those who care for the rights of man. What the Tamils must work out is how this massive support can best be utilised, not for empire building and power struggles, but to free the Tamil people from Sinhalese domination.

Concluded

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of
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FROM THE MEDIA

CONDITIONS NOT IMPROVING, BUT DETERIORATING!

By Graeme Hamilton

Gruesome pictures flickered on the television screen - a child's body covered with flies, a dog gnawing at a corpse - reminding the Tamils, gathered in a Montreal conference room, of the continuing violence in their native Sri Lanka.

At a meeting of the World Tamil Movement, Tamils living in Canada were urged to fight the growing perception that conditions are returning to normal back home; or they might see western countries closing their doors to refugees.

"Conditions haven't really improved", said Anna Chmielewski, an Amnesty International worker who has been monitoring troubles in Sri Lanka. "The country is still at battle, so people returning home are not safe. Their lives are endangered."

Rev.Philip N.Ratnapala, founder of the Tamil Refugee Aid Society of Ottawa, said that news is being slanted by the Indian and Sri Lankan governments to give the impression all is well in Sri Lanka. "The world doesn't care any more", he said, "They like to go to the lake fishing; they don't like to see guns and killings."

Joyce Yedid, a Montreal immigration lawyer, warned that "the so-called normalisation" of life in Sri Lanka could lead to deportations of Tamil refugees from India and Europe.

Of Sri Lanka's 15 million people, about 2.7 million are Tamils. Last July, India and Sri Lanka negotiated an agreement designed to bring peace to war-torn Sri Lanka. The pact called for a ceasefire between Sri Lankan and separatist Tamil troops and an amnesty for prisoners held under emergency laws.

Chmielewski said 1,000 Tamil prisoners are unaccounted for. She also said the 50,000 Indian peace-keeping troops are guilty of human rights abuses against the Tamils.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the most prominent separatist group in Sri Lanka, has rejected the accord. Karthigesoo Kasi Visvanathan, one of more than 4,000 Tamils living in Montreal, said he would not want to return to his homeland until a democratic, sovereign Tamil State is established. Conditions have deteriorated since Indian forces entered Sri Lanka, he said. "It's much worse than what the Sri Lankan government did to us."

A former English teacher in Sri Lanka, Kasi Visvanathan fled the country in 1983. Between 15 and 20 of his students were arrested by the Sri Lankan army and they subsequently disappeared. He said, "Everybody was a suspect to them." After four years as a temporary refugee in India, he and his wife came to Montreal in June 1987. They are still waiting to hear whether their claim for refugee status will be accepted by Ottawa. *By courtesy - 'The Gazette' (Montreal)*

DON'T BLAME TAMIL TERRORISTS - SAYS THONDA

Mr.S.Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Workers' Congress, and Minister of Rural Industrial Development said:

"Is there violence on the estates? Compared to what is happening in the South and the North and East of the country can you say that there is violence on the estates?

There is no violence on the estates as such, as if you say states, then you mean the problems between the superintendents and labour. You can't attribute what happens out on the roads to violence on estates. Even in the earlier days this kind of highway robbery occurred. Fifty years ago, on Dunsinane estate in Punduloya, the superintendent was waylaid and shot.

You can't have what you had 100 years ago. If the plantations are partially successful, it is because the workers are docile. Everyone states that there has been an erosion of discipline; it is only that the workers are more aware of their rights. In the name of discipline, even today a lot of suffering is imposed on workers. Some people on the estates are without jobs for five years, but they still co-operate with the management. In my opinion the only quiet and peaceful place is the plantation sector. I have given an undertaking that I can achieve normalcy on the estates without deploying the army in these areas. I did this in 1986. In the future, too, I can guarantee normalcy on the estates provided that there is a reasonable approach.

The Templestowe estate incident was not the work of Tamil terrorists. From Rozella, where the estate is, to Ginigathhena, Yatiyantota and down to Avissawella, one finds the JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna) influence. If it was done by the Northern terrorists then the estate workers would have been involved. I am sure that they were not a party to this killing. **The Police have no basis for this kind of story, it is just a readymade excuse for them.**

Even in Nuwara Eliya the JVP came and threw bombs a few months ago, and also disrupted the Prime Minister's meeting. Every time they claim that the CWC cadre is infiltrated by the EPRLF (Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front). What is the manifestation of that? They can have a small membership, as you can't prevent an individual from joining any organisation or political party. But whether that membership is a challenge to the CWC leadership on the estates is another matter. Why should you worry about an insignifcant number who are not effective? When some fly sits on your body today you don't worry about it; why should you? It will fly away tomorrow".

Courtesy - The Sunday Times (Colombo) - July 17, 1988

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ANNIVERSARY OF ACCORD

SRI LANKA LOSES FAITH IN ROLE OF INDIAN TROOPS

By Vijitha Yapa

The anniversary of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan accord is being observed today with both the majority Sinhalese and the minority Tamils seemingly united in not wanting the Indian troops to remain in Sri Lanka.

Officially there are 52,000 Indian troops in the Northern and Eastern provinces, although Indian analysts say the number is double that.

One of their tasks was to disarm the Tamil guerillas fighting for a separate state. But, with nearly 600 soldiers dead, the Indians have found that having the fourth largest army in the world does not mean that the guerrillas, mainly of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), scare easily.

Mr.Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of National Security and Trade, said Sri Lanka had fulfilled its obligations under the accord. Sri Lankan troops were restricted to their barracks, an amnesty was granted to the guerillas, legislation was passed for devolution, elections had been held in all the provincial councils except in the Northern and Eastern provinces and Tamil guerrillas had been allowed for registration as recognized political parties.

Even the most pro-Indian of the Cabinet Ministers and the architect of the accord, Mr.Gamini Dissanayake, says that the peace keeping force has not performed its functions well.

"One year after the accord, when the LTTE should be either conforming to the principles of the Accord or eliminated as a militant factor, they are still able to defy the Indian Army," he said. Sri Lanka is committed to holding elections in the North and East, but it is the responsibility of India to bring about the condition for this, he added.

The arrival of the Indian troops also gave an excuse for the extremist Sinhalese party, the People's Liberation Front, to whip up feelings. It has committed more than 200 murders, mainly of officials of the ruling United National Party and Government. They have called for a day of protest today and warned people to stay away from work.

The demands were sent through the postal system, which led the Government to take the unprecedented step of suspending the delivery of all letters for a week.

The Government also imposed a 24-hour curfew in two southern districts, Matara and Hambantota, to prevent violence after reports that the People's Liberation Front was planning demonstrations.

For President Jayewardene it is a decisive year. Presidential elections have to be held between December 15 and January 15, although general elections are not due until August next year.

Having won three of the four by-elections held this month, he is said to be keen to have the general election first. Observers feel that if his United National Party does not get an absolute majority at an early general election he will be able to manoeuvre the smaller parties into a coalition if he is still President.

But for him to contest a third term an amendment to the Constitution is necessary, which requires a two-thirds majority. So far, he has not revealed his plans.

The presence of the Indian troops will be a key factor in the elections and Mr.Jayewardene would have preferred to go to the people claiming that elections to provincial councils in the North and East had been held, the Tamil guerillas had been disarmed, and Indian troops had begun to go home.

But elections in the North and East seem a long way off. *(The Times - July 29, 1988)*

Year of the mauling of the Tigers

A year after India sent its soldiers into Sri Lanka, that unfortunate country is still in the grip of civil war. For India's Prime Minister, Mr Gandhi, this is a disheartening comment on his long and patient pursuit of a peace plan based on a mixture of force and negotiation.

In early July it looked as if Mr Gandhi's strategy was going to succeed. Many of the Tigers' arms caches had been seized, the main channels through which they obtained weapons had been blocked, at least 200 of their best fighters had been killed or captured, and intercepted messages revealed low morale in their ranks.

Meanwhile, the negotiators in Madras were already discussing the duration of a ceasefire, the number of weapons the guerillas would hand over, and the deadline by which they would be handed over.

And on June 30 Sri Lanka's President Mr. Jayawardene had renewed his offer of an amnesty for Tigers who laid down their arms.

On July 10, however **the Sri Lankan Government issued a statement repeating that the proposed merger of the island's Northern and Eastern provinces would become permanent only if the people of Eastern Province, where Tamils are in a minority (by reason of colonisation) approved it in a referendum to be held not more than a year after the election of a joint council for the merged provinces.** This statement touched on the most sensitive element in the India-Sri Lanka agreement of July 29 last year.

Tamils in Sri Lanka had long demanded the creation of a single "Tamil homeland" comprising both provinces. Until last year the Government in Colombo had refused to consider the merger fearing that it would be a stepping stone to secession. When Mr Jayawardene accepted its inclusion in the July agreement, he insisted on making the permanence of the merger conditional on ratification by a referendum in Eastern Province. The Indian Government was not happy about this, but it hoped Mr Jayawardene would postpone the referendum and let the issue fade away.

Continued

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But the Sri Lankan President was left with little room to manoeuvre when the Tamil guerillas proved intransigent and the Island's Sinhalese majority began to react angrily to the presence of the Indian troops.

The statement issued on July 10 was evidently meant to reassure the Sinhalese on the eve of four by-elections in which the ruling United National Party was to face a challenge from Mrs Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Freedom Party.

On July 13 the Tigers said they did not accept this condition for the merger of the two provinces. Officials in Delhi say the Madras talks have merely "hit a snag." However in talks with the Economist in Madras, the Tigers' spokesmen have made it clear that the merger issue is not the only one on which they want changes. They are unhappy about an amend ment to the Sri Lankan Constitution that was adopted in April. This 13th Amendment empowers the president to declare an emergency in any part of the country for a wide range of reasons. In the past, Mr Jayawardene has made much use of the emergency powers. The Tamils fear that the 13th Amendment will make Tamil autonomy permanently subject to Sinhalese vote.

They have made it clear that unless India puts pressure on Sri Lanka to reverse the 13th Amend ment, it would be suicidal for the Tigers to surrender their arms to the Indian Army.

Mr Gandhi faces a difficult choice. He can order an all out onslaught on the Tigers or he can concede the validity of their objections to the present scheme. He seems to have chosen the first course. Operation Checkmate, the latest of the assaults on guerilla bases in the north, has been inten sified and several Tiger commanders have been killed.

In the long run, however, a policy of bashing the guerrillas has its limitations. The Tigers voice is shared by many non-combatant Tamils in Sri Lanka. The more the Indian troops succeed in weakening the guerrillas, the more India will make itself morally responsible for the future welfare of Sri Lanka's Tamils. That could mean a long involvement in the island's affairs. The Indian government may find satisfaction in a great-power role; but not all Indians find the prospect attractive. *(Courtesy The Economist - July 30, 1988)*

PEACE NO CLOSER ONE YEAR AFTER SRI LANKA ACCORD

One year on, the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement to Establish Peace and Normalcy in Sri Lanka can be seen to have singularly failed to achieve all of its main objectives.

Worse, an Indian Peace Keeping Force which has grown from 6,000 to 50,000 (Indian official figure) seems no nearer to subjugating Tamil militants fighting for a separate state in the north and east of Sri Lanka than when it first arrived 12 months ago.

Worse still, the IPKF is indefinitely locked into such a pursuit by the terms of the agreement, a task which has so far cost the lives of 500 Indian soldiers and seriously injured 1,500 others.

With months of talks in Madras between Indian and LTTE officials to try to achieve a negotiated settlement ending in stalemate in recent weeks, there is growing criticism coming from the Sri Lankan Government that the IPKF has failed in its task of forcing the Tigers to sue for peace.

A year on, that peace is no nearer, the possibility of valid elections in the north and east seems remote, and Tamils and Sinhalese alike are today hanging out black flags in protest at the accord.

Guardian - July 29th 1988

NO PEACE IN SRI LANKA

It took a Sri Lankan army curfew in the south of the island yesterday to hold back protests of Sinhalese chauvinists; it took an Indian army curfew to restrain the Tamils in the north. Both communities were trying to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. Both proposed a continuation of their campaigns of mayhem and murder.

When Mr Rajiv Gandhi put his signature to the accord last year he can scarcely have imagined the trouble that was in store. He signed for all the right reasons. By that stage there was no possibility that the Sri Lankan Government could reach an agreement with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam on their own. The Tigers were sheltered in India and widely believed to be armed and trained there too. Sri Lanka with 30,000-man army simply did not have the power to crush them, though it was strong enough to cause vast suffering among the Tamils

The Sri Lankan Government, meanwhile, was also imprisoned by the strength of Sinhalese feeling against any settlement that would have been acceptable to the Tamils. Mr Gandhi felt able to lean on President Jayewardene to force one more concession after another out of him. In return Mr Gandhi could offer to cut off support to the Tigers.

Mr Jayewardene perhaps did see what he and Mr Gandhi were letting themselves in for. He asked Mr Gandhi for troops. They would free his troops to look after the Sinhalese extremists in the south, and they would be there if the accord should go sour and the Tigers should take up terrorism again.

Outside the Tamil areas the establishment of provincial councils has gone ahead, and elections have been held to them, despite the murderous efforts of the Sinhalese militants. In the north and east the Indians who are now 50,000 strong are still trying to hold the Tigers down.

The killing of more Sinhalese villagers to mark the anniversary showed that their control is far from complete, but the experience of Punjab shows that such complete control is simply not possible. In the meantime unofficial talks between Indian intelligence and Tigers are said to be nearing another agreement.

If there is another agreement the Indians must ensure that the Tigers are thoroughly disarmed this time. The Sinhalese should avoid stoking Tamil fears by renewed colonization. The Sri Lankan opposition should exercise restraint in opposing the settlement. The sad thing is that none of these things is likely to happen.

The Times (Editorial) - July 30, 1988

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DISTRUST AND DISCORD BESET ACCORD FOR SRI LANKA

One year later, the India-Sri Lanka agreement aimed at ending the traumatic ethnic conflict in the island republic and to safeguard India's supreme national interest in the region - widely hailed when signed on July 29, 1987 - is under heavy attack in both countries.

"Facing a Fiasco", "Blunder in Sri Lanka", "Fate of Flawed Accord", "No Peace in Sight" - These are but a few of the headlines seen on critical comments here.

Across the Palk Straits, deeds have been speaking louder than words. The brutal killing of 14 innocent Sinhalese peasants in the Trincomalee region by the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of the Tamil Eelam) on the eve of the Accord's anniversary and the blood-spattered bandh, along with the night blackout called by the People's Liberation Front (JVP) - the spearhead of Sinhala chauvinism -are essentially two sides of the same coin.

Diverse Opinions: The middle-of-the-road Sinhalese opinion is also revealing. Leaving aside the vigorous opposition to both the accord and the presence of the Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) by Sirimavo Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), until recently India's traditional ally. Never mind the caustic comments of habitually India-baiting Sri Lankan newspapers. But notice needs to be taken when even those Sinhalese intellectuals and politicians who openly admit that at present Sri Lanka just cannot do without the IPKF add in the same breath that this force should start withdrawing.

"It hurts our pride", said one most candidly to 'India Abroad', "that we are unable to contain our own conflicts and manage our own affairs. Every day that passes with the IPKF still on Sri Lankan soil adds to our fears about a possible loss of sovereignty."

A Telling Posture: Moreover, it is not fortuitous that the Sri Lankan minister to first campaign for a "phased withdrawal" of Indian troops from Sri Lanka, who had indeed conjured up visions of such a plan being announced during the recent visit of Indian Defence Minister K.C.Pant to Colombo, should be Gamini Dissanayake, one of the Accord's architects.

He, like the other hopefuls in the ruling United National Party, is fighting the battle for possible succession to the octogenarian but remarkably active and agile President, J.R.Jayewardene. This should also explain why Minister for National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali, is trying to upstage all other contenders by trying to arrange direct settlement with Tamil groups and thus outflank and out-manoeuvre the IPKF, the Indian government and the Sri Lankan supporters of the Accord, in order to win Sinhalese approval.

Protection Still Necessary: Even so, it would be a mistake to assume that the accord is without any support in Sri Lanka outside of the Tamil population, which, of course, needs the IPKF as protection against the depredations of both the trigger-happy Sri Lankan security agencies and the overbearing Tigers. Were it so, even the extremely skilful Jayewardene would not have been able to hold out in favour of the Accord. He has not only done so, but also bluntly told his countrymen that the only alternative to the Accord and the presence of the IPKF would be renewed terrorism, civil war and worse.

Nor should it be overlooked that at least 50 per cent of the people in the south and the west voted in recent provincial council elections despite a call for boycott of the election by the SLFP and the JVP's terror-tactics to keep voters away from the polling booths. What is more they voted for the UNP and the United Socialist Alliance, better known by its quaint acronym, USA, whose commitment to the Accord is even greater than the ruling party's if only because this leftist alliance seeks a fair and equitable settlement that would insure Sri Lankan unity as well as justice for the Tamil minority.

Quick Exit not in Cards: With all that, however, it is only realistic to recognize that India, especially the peace keeping forces, is not bind in Sri Lanka from which there is no easy or nearly escape. Doubtless, the IPKF has corralled the hard-core Tigers in the jungles of eastern and northern Sri Lanka. This effectively destroyed the Tigers' capacity to fight a set-piece battle with Indian forces as they did in Jaffna and other northern towns. But paradoxically, the LTTE ability to wage guerrilla warfare has been enhanced.

Perspicacious observers of the Sri Lankan scene have pointed out that the **"highly visible" Indian force is in the unenviable position of having to chase an "invisible enemy" in thick jungles where Indian jawans often fall prey to the Tigers' booby traps and land mines.**

Political Ramifications: Under the circumstances, to demand that the peace-keepers should 'decimate' the recalcitrant Tigers so that the political process, in which other Tamil groups such as PLOTE, EPRLF and TULF have agreed to join, could be put into motion is absurd, quite apart from its inhumanity.

This brings one to the Indian government's cardinal sin in Sri Lanka. Although a case can be made that the agreement was negotiated in too much secrecy and signed in too much haste, the fact also remains that had the Accord not been signed when it was, the situation in Sri Lanka could have gone completely out of control. By now, forces inimical or even hostile to India could well have been entrenched across 21 miles of shallow waters from Indian shores.

The besetting fault of New Delhi, therefore, is not that it rushed into the Accord with Colombo, but that it did so in the mistaken belief that it had persuaded the Tigers to go along with the agreement.

Hoping Against Hope: Even when Velupillai Prabaharan disabused all concerned of this naive notion, wishful thinking continued to hold sway in the South Block until it became unavoidable to launch an all-out assault on the Tigers last October. The decks for elections in the north and east were expected to be cleared within a few weeks. Nine months later, there are no signs of it happening. Nor has wishful thinking become

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a thing of the past. During the two months since Pant's visit to Sri Lanka, negotiations between the Indian intelligence agency (RAW) and the Tigers are supposed to have "succeeded" no fewer than four times. Each time the hope has turned out to be a dupe.

New Delhi is now toying with the idea of holding elections in northern and eastern Sri Lanka despite the Tigers' violent defiance. *India Abroad - August 5, 1988*

IPKF GETS SALUTE BY JAYEWARDENE ON ANNIVERSARY

On the first India-Sri Lanka Peace Accord Day, which fell on July 29, President J.R.Jayewardene saluted the Indian Peace Keeping Force, especially the 511 killed and 1,526 injured, in the cause of establishing peace in the island nation after nearly five years of strife.

The Indian forces are expected to stay, even after bringing the militants under complete control, to provide security for the North-East Provincial Council elections under the peace accord.

High Commissioner J.N.Dixit told 'India Abroad' that the Tiger leader, Velupilai Prabaharan, would be given only a few days to fall in line with the Accord. Otherwise, military operations against dissidents would be intensified to clear the ground for the council elections, he said. *India Abroad - August 5, 1988.*

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Bishops support 'armed struggle'

A Northern Ireland bishop expressed his dismay yesterday when the Lambeth Conference recognised that people could "choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice."

Bishop Brian Honnon of Clogher diocese in Tyrone said: "People conducting armed struggle in our country say their action is just but they have no significant following in the electorate north or south of the border and their armed struggle has been totally counterproductive, leading us further and further into depravity, immorality and more and more violence."

He said he backed the main thrust of a resolution supporting justice and condemning war, but would never accept that armed struggle was a solution.

The resolution declared that the conference understood "those who, after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice, whilst drawing attention to the dangers and injustices possible in such action."

Outright support for this came from Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Cape Town who said: "In our situation people have used conventional non-violence and there was violence from those they were seeking to persuade."

In Northern Ireland and elsewhere people had recourse to parliamentary means, he said.

"In our situation people are without such means. We are not asking you to condone or condemn, but we are asking you to say to those of our people who have tried everything: We understand. The church is not pacifist."

Bishop Hannon and other Irish bishops tried to change the resolution to express understanding only for violence "in self-defence." This was defeated by 226 votes to 168, with 29 abstentions.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, and the Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood, joined Archbishop Tutu in voting against the amendment.

After the vote, Dr Habgood said: "The Irish sensitivity was very much borne in mind as was the feeling that the IRA will pick up and twist to their own use anything which seemed to offer them a handle of support," he said.

But the key word was "understand" and while both sides in the Irish situation had "perfectly good parliamentary methods" other Christians might not, he said.

The conference voted to delete a phrase highlighting "the dangers of armed struggle becoming an end in itself" and warn instead of the "dangers and injustices possible in such action." *(Courtesy - The Guardian, August 5, 1988)*

Gandhi faces bribe claim over Sumitomo deals

MR RAJIV GANDHI, India's Prime Minister, found himself in more trouble recently when members of both houses of Parliament demanded a statement and a debate over claims that a Japanese company had paid bribes to a businessman close to one of Mr Gandhi's best friends.

The allegations were published, with supporting documentary evidence, by The Statesman newspaper of New Delhi, which said Sumitomo Corporation had paid Rs65m (£2.5m) to a local businessman as bribes in deals with the Government-owned Oil and Natural Gas Commission.

Members waved copies of the newspaper and demanded a statement. The furore continued for more than 20 minutes before the Speaker promised to ask the Government for an explanation on Monday, and said this could be the basis of a debate.

Members had debated the controversy over alleged payments by Bofors of Sweden to people close to Mr Gandhi when it won a $1.4bn (£813m) contract to supply howitzers to the Indian army. The basis of the debate was the recent publication, by The Hindu newspaper of Madras, of documents in which bribery was alleged, although a parliamentary inquiry had found no evidence of it.

The demand by members for a new inquiry was rejected by Mr K C Pant, Defence Minister, but he said severe action would ensue from any culpability.

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DEMONSTRATIONS ALL OVER THE WORLD AGAINST THE SHAMEFUL ACCORD OF JULY 1987

The Eelam Tamils living all over the world have, on the first anniversary of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord of 29th July 1987, successfully organized and launched protest marches and demonstrations condemning the ill fated Accord and highlighting the utter failure in its execution. The hollowness of the Accord and the impossibility of performance of the Accord by reason of its intrinsic defect in not having the LTTE as a party and signatory to the Accord has been highlighted in several international fora involved in issues concerned with human rights.

The International Tamil Community has driven home to the several non-governmental organisations that the Indian government which had firstly failed to recognize the basic principles of Tamil nationalism, Tamil homelands and the right to self determination of the Tamils in the Accord, has subsequently, through its unbridled and indisciplined army of illiterate and inhuman soldiers, killed and maimed thousands of innocent children, women, men and students besides having raped and indecently assaulted and outraged the modesty of many hundreds of Tamil women and girls of the northern and eastern provinces of Sri Lanka.

With a view to attracting the attention and focussing the concentration of the cilivized nations of the world many of which still appear to be labouring under the delusion that India, the land of the Mahatma "Can do no wrong", the internationally scattered Tamils have held Seminars, Discussions, Exhibitions, Demonstrations, Rallies and Protest Marches in many parts of the world.

Given below are brief accounts of the mournful anniversary activities:-

AMERICA

The Tamils living in the USA with the support and guidance of Miss Karen Parker of the Association for Human Rights, Rev. Father Thomas Amalathas of the World Tamil Movement, Mr Veeramany, of the Dravida Kazhagam and Mr. Wakely Paul, constitational law expert and attorney-at-law, launched a protest march in Washington on the 29th of July 1988, condemning the shameful Accord of July 1987 and urging the American government to intervene to ameliorate the sufferings of the Tamils in Sri Lanka.

The protest-march which lasted for about three hours and covered a distance of two miles ended at Larbian Park in front of the White House. The protest march was followed by a meeting in the Park during which many speakers spoke. At the end of the meeting it was resolved to urge the American government to recognize the LTTE as sole representatives and leaders of the Tamils and to request the American Government to use its good offices to ask the Indian government to declare a cease fire forthwith.

CANADA

On the 29th of last month the Tamils of Canada organized an exhibition in Toronto, Canada commemorating the ignominious Accord of last year and highlighting the gap between the words and deeds of the Rajiv government. Many hundreds of photographs and sketches depicting the atrocities and iniquities and orgies perpetrated and indulged in by the Indian forces were displayed at the Exhibition.

The organizers of the Exhibition had also issued several thousands of pamphlets and leaflets in the English and French languages decrying the hollowness of the Accord.

AUSTRALIA

The Tamil residents of Melbourne and Canberra in Australia organized and participated in mammoth meetings condemning the Peace Accord of 1987 and demanding that the Accord should be annulled forthwith. On the 30th of July the Tamils of Sydney observed a day of fasting protesting against the Accord which has resulted in widening the discord between the Tamils and the Sinhalese.

FRANCE

The liberation organizations and the Social Service institutions of France together with the Tamils living in France staged a procession on the 29th July 1988, in remembrance of the signing of the Accord of July 1987 which has in its wake brought untold hardships and misery to the Tamils living in Sri Lanka.

WEST GERMANY

The Tamil residents of West Germany observed the 29th of July 1988 as a day of mourning, wearing black badges and bands. On the 30th, the Tamils living in the town of Dussel Dorf staged a protest march at Stausenplatz, passing through the streets wherein the embassies and High Commissions of Argentina, Denmark, Canada and Sweden and situated.

NETHERLANDS

On the first anniversary of the signing of the despicable Accord of 29th July 1987, the Tamils living in Netherlands organized a big rally to voice their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Accord has been implemented during the last 12-months. A big crowd assembled before the Indian High Commission in the Netherlands and chanted slogans describing the inhuman and beastly behaviour of the Indian forces in Sri Lanka.

NORWAY

The Tamils living in the towns of Oslo, Bergen, Drammen, Romso and Arendal together with the various human rights organizations staged a protest rally at Oslo on the 29th. At the end of the rally, they handed over a Memo to the Indian High Commissioner to be given to the Prime Minister of India.

GREAT BRITAIN

In commemoration of the signing of the much criticized Accord of July 1987, the various Tamil Organisations of London staged a Protest Demonstration and March in London. The march which started at Tyburn Way near Oxford Street covered a distance of about 3 miles and ended at Temple Place near the Indian High Commission.

More than 10,000 pamphlets and notices exposing the hollowness of the Accord and the criminal intentions of Rajiv Gandhi were distributed to the various sections of the communities all over England.

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